I: Krasheninnikov N-5 (1736-40) 1764 Kamchadal

that amber is gathered here, near the *Penſchinſka* ſea, upon the river *Tegbil*, and farther north. 135

CHAP. V.

Of TREES *and* PLANTS.

THE moſt uſeful wood is the larch *, and the white poplar †, which ſerves for building their houſes and forts; and they are fit, not only for ſuch boats as the inhabitants uſe, but even for the building of ſhips. The larch-tree, indeed, only grows upon the river *Kamtſchatka*, and ſuch other rivers as fall into it: in other places they make uſe of the white poplar. The pine-tree ‖ and the black poplar ‡ are no where to be found upon the *Kamtſchatka*; and the pitch-tree ** only in one place, and there in ſmall quantities. Although there be many birch-trees ††, yet they make little uſe of them, unleſs in their ſledges, having none near their houſes but what are crooked and uſeleſs; and it is very troubleſome to bring the better ſort from the diſtance at which it grows. 137 313

They make great uſe of the birch bark, which they ſtrip from the trees while yet green; and cutting it in ſmall pieces, like vermicelli, eat it with dried caviar. In the winter, whenever you enter any of their villages, you find the women employed in hacking this green bark with their bone or ſtone axes. They alſo ferment this bark with the juice or ſap of the birch, which makes an agreeable drink. The birches of 314 222 262 273

* Larix. ‖ Pinus. ** Picea.
† Populus alba. ‡ Populus nigra. †† Betula.

1: Krasheninnikov N-5 (1736-40) 1764 Kamchadal

the birches of

Kamtſchatka are much fuller of knots and hard excreſcences than thoſe of *Europe*; but of theſe knots they make very uſeful plates, ſpoons, and cups. Mr. *Steller* obſerved, that the white poplar near the ſea was quite porous and light, which he attributed to the ſalt water; that the aſhes of this wood, laid out in the open air, turned into a ſtony ſubſtance heavy and hard, which, the longer it lies, the harder and heavier it grows. This ſtone, when broken, ſhews ſome ſpecks of iron in its ſubſtance. Sallows * and alders † are the common fire-wood in *Kamtſchatka*. The bark of the ſallow is uſed for food, and that of the alder in dying their leather; as ſhall be related more at large in another place. They have the tree tcheremough‖ and the hawthorn ‡ of two ſpecies, one yielding a red, and the other a black fruit; of theſe they lay up a great quantity againſt winter: they have likewiſe the ſervice-tree ** in great plenty, whoſe fruit is eſteemed amongſt their moſt delicate confections.

Their principal nouriſhment is from the nuts of the ſlantza, which grows every where, both in hills and dales. This ſhrub, or tree, is truly of the cedar kind, only it is much leſs; and inſtead of growing ſtraight, it creeps along the ground. Its cones and nuts are not half ſo large as thoſe of the cedar: the *Kamtſchadales* eat them with the ſhells. Theſe, as well as the tcheremough and the hawthorn berries, are very aſtringent, eſpecially if eaten in any quantity. The greateſt virtue of theſe nuts is, that they are a good remedy againſt the ſcurvy, as all our ſeamen can witneſs: for in the moſt ſevere ſcurvy this is, as one may ſay, almoſt their only medicine; and from the tops of the ſlantza and cedar was their common drink made, ſometimes fermented, at other times drunk warm like tea; and orders were given by

* Salices.
† Alni.
‖ Padus foliis annuis. LINN.
‡ Oxyanthus fructu rubro et nigro.
** Sorbus.

the

1: Krasheninnikov N-5 (1736-40) 1764 Kamchadal

the commanding officer that the kettle with ſlantza and cedar tops ſhould never be taken from the fire. Red currants, raſberries, and kneſhnitza are very rare there, or grow at ſuch a diſtance from their houſes that no one cares to go in ſearch of them. The blackberries of the gimoloſt * are of great uſe, being of an agreeable taſte, ſomething like new-fermented beer. The bark of this ſhrub is uſeful in diſtilling brandy, giving ſtrength and ſharpneſs to the ſpirit.

The juniper † grows every where; but they do not uſe the berries, as they lay up great ſtore of moroſky ‖, pianitza ‡, bruſhnitza **, klioukva ††, and vodinitza ‖‖: and when they have great plenty of theſe berries they not only uſe them as confects, but diſtil brandy from them, except from klioukva and vodinitza, which yield no ſpirit. Mr. *Steller* writes, that the vodinitza is no bad remedy for the ſcurvy; and the inhabitants dye any old cloaths with it that have loſt their colour, to which it gives a cherry-colour. Some boil it up with train-oil and alum, and dye the beaver and coarſe ſables with it well enough to deceive the unwary or ignorant. In many places they content themſelves with roots and herbs, and make them ſupply not only their want of bread, but of fiſh alſo. The principal of theſe is the ſaranne, which ſerves inſtead of groats. It belongs to the claſs of the lillies ‡‡; but as this ſort is never ſeen any where but in *Ochotſkoy* and *Kamtſchatka*, I ſhall give a deſcription of it. It grows about half a foot high; has a ſtalk near the thickneſs of a ſwan's quill, red below and green above. Its leaves grow in two

* Lonicera pedunculis biflorio, floribus infundibuli formis, bacca ſolitaria, oblonga, anguloſa. GMEL. flor. Sib.
† Juniperus.
‖ Chamemorus RAII Syn.
‡ Vaccinium Spec. 2. LINN. Bilberry.
** Vaccinium Bilberry Spec. 3. LINN.
†† Vaccinium Red Crowberry Spec. 4.
‖‖ Empetrum.
‡‡ Lillium flore atro rubente.

1: Krasheninnikov N-5 (1736-40) 1764 Kamchadal

137 rows upon the ſtalk; the lower row having three leaves, and the upper four, placed croſsways: the form of the leaves is oval. Sometimes above the ſecond row one leaf grows juſt under the flower. Upon the uppermoſt part of the ſtalk grows one dark cherry-coloured flower, rarely two, ſomething leſs than that of the common lilly; and this is divided into ſix equal parts. The pointal in the center of the flower is triangular, at the top flat, and in three different cells contains flat reddiſh ſeeds. Round the pointal are ſix white ſtamina with yellow heads. Its root, which is properly the ſaranne, is about the bigneſs of a root of garlick, made up of many little cloves, whence it acquires a round form. It bloſſoms in *June*, at which time one can ſee no other flower over the whole fields.

222 252 262 435 The natives of *Kamtſchatka*, and the wives of the *Ruſſian* Coſſacks, dig up the roots in the harveſt, or take them out of the neſts of the field-n[illegible]† them in the ſun, and ſell them for five or ſix rub[illegible]es the pood. The ſaranne half boiled, and beat up with brambleberries, cranberries, or ſuch other of this kind, makes one of the moſt agreeable confections, being of a ſharp ſweetneſs; and if one had enough for every day's uſe, the want of bread would be tolerably 137 well ſupplied. Mr. *Steller* reckons five ſpecies of this plant: 1ſt. the kimtchiga, which grows near *Tegbil* and *Hariouſkovoy*, in appearance like a large ſugar-pea, and if boiled taſtes much the ſame; but neither he nor I ever ſaw this plant in bloſſom: 2dly, the round ſaranne, which I have deſcribed above: 3dly, ovſenka *, which grows every where in *Siberia*, being roots of red lillies, whoſe flowers are all turned up in curls; the bulb is compoſed of an infinite number of ſmall cloves: 4thly, titichpa,

* Lilium radice tunicata, folis ſparſis, floribus reflexis, corollis revolutis. GMEL. flor. Sib.

† Defect in Original. Sentence probably reads: "field-mice to dry?"

which

l: Krasheninnikov N-5 (1736-40) 1764 Kamchadal

which grows upon the Great River; but neither he nor I ever saw this in the flower: 5thly, matiſta ſladka trava*, or the ſweet plant, is as uſeful in their oeconomy as the ſaranne; for the *Kamtſchadales* uſe this not only as a confection in tarts and broths, but in all their ſuperſtitious ceremonies this is abſolutely neceſſary. The *Ruſſians* were no ſooner ſettled there, than they found that brandy was to be diſtilled from it; and at preſent this is the only brandy that is publickly ſold. The root of this herb is without yellowiſh, within, white; and of a bitter, ſpicy taſte. The ſtem is fleſhy, of three or four joints, and about a man's height. Its flower is a reddiſh green, with ſhort white hairs, longeſt near the root. The leaves upon the ſtem neareſt the root are five or ſix, and ſometimes even ten: they grow upon thick, round, fleſhy, green, rough ſtalks, marked with little red ſpots. Upon the main ſtem, at every joint, ariſes one ſuch leaf, but without a ſtalk. The flowers are ſmall and white, like fennel, or other herbs of that ſort; and conſiſt of five leaves, of which the innermoſt are largeſt, and the outward ſmalleſt. It has two ovaria upon every flower, upon ſhort ſmall necks; and round them are five white ſtamina with green points, which riſe higher than the flower. The flowers, taken all together, reſemble a plate; while the ſtalks which ſupport the umbella are longeſt without, and in the middle ſhorteſt: ſtalks ariſe from every joint, upon which are flowers.

This plant abounds every where in *Kamtſchatka*, and the inhabitants gather and prepare it in this manner: they cut off the ſtalks of the leaves which grow neareſt the root, and with a ſhell

* Sphondylium foliolis pinnatifidis. Linn. Cliff.

ſcrape

l: Krasheninnikov N-5 (1736-40) 1764 Kamchadal

222 ſcrape off the ſkin; and then bind up ten ſtalks together.
252 When it begins to ſmell a little, then they put it in a bag to ſweeten; where it yields a ſweet duſt, which perhaps ſweats out from the pith of the plant. This herb-ſugar, as they call it, has ſomething the taſte of liquorice, and is not very pleaſant. A pood of the plant does not afford above a quarter of a pound of this duſt.

137 The women, when they gather this,[1] muſt wear gloves; for the
222 juice is ſo ſharp or cauſtic, than whenever it falls upon the fleſh it raiſes ſwellings and bliſters. For this reaſon, when in the ſpring the *Ruſſians* eat it freſh, they only bite it with their teeth, taking care not to touch it with their lips. I have ſeen inſtances of ſome that were unacquainted with this, who raſhly chewed it as they would do any other herb; upon which, not only their lips, but their chin, noſe, and cheeks, and alſo wherever the juice of this plant had touched, was immediately ſwelled up and full of bliſters; and although theſe burſt, yet the ſwelling continued for a whole week.

273 The manner of diſtilling ſpirits from it is as follows:---
536 They lay ſeveral bundles of this plant in a ſmall veſſel, upon which they pour hot water; and to make it ferment, they put in ſome berries of honey-ſuckle or cranberries, and binding the veſſel cloſe up ſet it in a warm place, where they leave it until the liquor ceaſes to make a noiſe; for during the time of fermentation, it cracks and bounces ſo much as to make the veſſel ſhake. In the ſame manner they prepare more wort in a large veſſel, and add to this, which now generally ferments in 24 hours, as above. They throw both the fermented herbs and liquor into the kettle, and cover it cloſe with a wooden cover; and inſtead of a pipe they take the barrel of a gun. The firſt running is as ſtrong as brandy; which, if they diſtil a ſecond time, produces a ſpirit ſo ſtrong that it conſumes even iron. But it is

1. [the sweet herb, sphondylium foliolis pinnatifidis Linn. Cliff.]

1: Krasheninnikov N-5 (1736-40) 1764 Kamchadal

boil it with their fiſh, and uſe the leaves as tea; but the greateſt uſe is made of its pith, which, after having ſplit the ſtalks, they ſcrape out with ſhells, and, tied up in bundles, dry it in the ſun. It is then very pleaſant, and in taſte reſembles dried *Perſian* cucumbers. The *Kamtſchadales* uſe it in ſeveral diſhes, and ſerve it up green as a deſert. The kipri boiled gives a thick ſweet wort, that makes the beſt quaſſe * imaginable: it alſo affords them a very ſtrong vinegar, if to ſix pounds of the kipri they add a pound of the ſweet herb of ſphondilium, and ferment it in the uſual way: they get a great deal more brandy, when they uſe the infuſion of the kipri, inſtead of water, to prepare the ſweet herb for diſtillation.

They cure the navels of their children with this herb, chewing it, and laying it upon the part. They grind the roots and ſtalks, and uſe them inſtead of green tea, to which the flavour has ſome reſemblance. The ſame uſe the *Kuriles* make of another ſhrub †, which has flowers like the ſtrawberry, only yellow, and produces no berries. This is called *Kurilſkoy* tea, and has great virtue in fluxes and gripes.

The wild garlick ‖ is not only uſeful in the kitchen, but alſo in medicine. Both the *Ruſſians* and *Kamtſchadales* gather great quantities, which they cut and dry in the ſun for their winter proviſion; at which time boiling it in water they ferment it a little, and uſe it as an herb ſoup, which they call *ſhami*. They eſteem the wild garlick ſo efficacious a remedy againſt the ſcurvy, that they think themſelves in no danger ſo ſoon as it begins to

* Quaſſe is a *Ruſſian* drink made of rye-malt, and flower, and very little fermented. Sometimes they add mint to it, and it makes no diſagreeable drink.

† Potentilla caule fruticoſo. LINN. Cliff.

‖ Allium foliis radicalibus petiolatis floribus umbellatis. GMEL. flor. Sib. tom. 1. p. 49.

ſhew

l: Krasheninnikov N-5 (1736-40) 1764 Kamchadal

were black, and others white; but none of them came ſo near the veſſel as to be exactly obſerved. 136

The * kaiover, or kaior, a bird of this ſpecies, is black, with its bill and feet red; builds its neſt, which is very curious, upon high rocks in the ſea, and whiſtles very loud, for which reaſon the Coſſacks call it ivoſhik, or poſt-boy. I never ſaw this bird.

The fowl † urile, of which there is great plenty in *Kamtſchatka*, called, by writers, ſea ravens, is about the bigneſs of a common gooſe, with a long neck and ſmall head; the feathers upon the whole body are of a bluiſh black, except upon its thighs, where they are white and in tufts; there are alſo ſome long white feathers like hairs, here and there upon its neck; it has a red membrane or ſkin round the eyes, a ſtrait bill, black above and reddiſh below; and its feet are black and webbed: when it ſwims it holds up its head, but flying, it ſtretches it out like a crane; it flies ſwift, but riſes heavily; and feeds upon fiſh, which it ſwallows whole: in the night time, theſe fowls ſtand in rows upon the edges of the cliffs, from which in their ſleep they frequently fall into the water; where they are caught by the ſtone foxes, who watch for them; they breed in the month of *July*; their eggs are green, about the bigneſs of a hen's egg, and being boiled thicken a little, but are ill taſted; however the *Kamtſchadales* climb the higheſt rocks in ſearch of them, at the hazard of their lives. They catch them with nets, and in the evening with nooſes faſtened to a long pole; and theſe creatures are ſo void of apprehenſion, that, though they ſee the next fowl to themſelves taken away, they will ſit ſtill and receive the nooſe, 'till they are all taken off the cliff; their fleſh is hard and ſinewy; but the natives prepare it in 136 222 223 252 262

* Columba Groënlandica Batavorum. STELL.

† Corvus aquaticus maximus criſtatus periophtalmiis cinnaberinis, poſtea candidis. STELL.

much

6:Antropova E-4 (no date) 1964 RY3 Kamchadal RY3

north to the Nalachevaya River in the south. The second included Itel'mens living from the Nalachevaya River to Cape Lopatka, as well as the "Near Kurilers." The third group consisted of the Itel'mens of the western coast of the Kamchatka Peninsula (Sedanka–Khayryuzovo). The greatest differences were between the languages of the northern and southern groups. Of the dialects of the Itel'men language, only two have survived to our time—the Khayryuyuzovo and the Sedanka, which were strongly affected by Koryak and Russian.

The question of the origin of the Itel'mens remains open. The archeological remains on the peninsula have not been studied sufficiently. They are represented by semiunderground dwellings, which hold large quantities of neolithic stone implements: arrowheads, spears, hatchets, scrapers, blubber lamps, well-made bone objects and fragments of pottery. These are very close to the Itel'men implements of the 17th and 18th centuries. Similar stone and bone objects were found by the first explorers of Kamchatka—S. Krasheninnikov (1737–1742) and G. Steller (1740–44).

The first ethnographic data about the Itel'mens were provided by V. Atlasov, who made a journey to Kamchatka from the Anadyr' Fort in 1697, with a detachment of Cossacks and Yukagirs. Atlasov followed the western coast, almost to the southern tip of the peninsula, and collected the first fur-tax from the Itel'mens. He found the Itel'mens at the height of the neolithic technique in making stone and bone implements. His "tales" (reports) abound in ethnographic materials. They provide fairly detailed descriptions of the material culture (villages, dwellings, clothing, methods of preparing food, etc.), the geographic distribution, and individual features of clan organization. Especially interesting are Atlasov's data on pottery-making, for only 40 years later, S. Krasheninnikov found no traces of this occupation among the Itel'mens.

Economy, Daily Life and Social Relations

Thanks to the remarkable work of Stepan Krasheninnikov, a participant in Bering's Second Kamchatka Expedition, we have a detailed account of the material production and social order of the Itel'mens in the first half of the 18th century, when they still retained their original culture.

They were fishermen who lived in permanent settlements along rivers. Their largest concentration was in the basin of the Kamchatka River. The main fishing season was during the salmon-run, when the fish surged upstream in dense masses to spawn. They fished with nets and hooks.

Nets were woven of nettle fiber. Fish was cured, made into yukola, and pickled in pits. Fish-heads were always pickled; this was a favorite dish.

The second important occupation of the Itel'mens was hunting. Kamchatka at that time was very rich in meat and fur animals. But fur animals were also hunted primarily for meat, since there was no market for the furs. V. Atlasov reported that the Itel'mens mixed chopped sable tails with the clay when making clay utensils.

An important role in the Itel'men economy was played by sea hunting. They hunted seal, fur-seal, and sea-beaver. The southern Itel'mens also hunted whales with arrows poisoned with plant poison.

None of the northern Siberian peoples engaged as widely as the Itel'mens in gathering wild plants. Most important in their diet were the tubers of sarana (a local name for various members of the lily family), sweet grass stems, the leaves of arnica, various berries, cedar nuts, etc. Plant tubers were dug out with a special digging implement of deer horn, tied to a wooden

6:Antropova E-4 (no date) 1964 RY3 Kamchadal RY3

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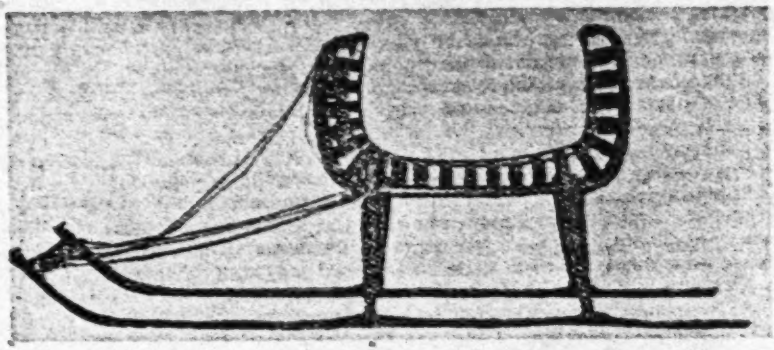

18th-century dogsled.

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handle. Later the horn was replaced by an iron tip. Gathering plants was women's work. Fishing and hunting were men's occupations, but the preserving of fish was in the woman's domain, as were the spinning of thread for the nets from nettle, the weaving of mats, and sewing of clothes. Krasheninnikov reports that preparing food, tending the dogs and all carpentry work were done by men.

The Russians found among the Itel'mens a highly developed neolithic technology. "The former Kamchatka metals, almost until the coming of the Russians, were bone and stones. They were used in the making of axes, knives, spears, arrows, lancets and needles," Krasheninnikov writes about the Itel'mens. Rock crystal was also widely used for knives and tips. Fire was made with a wooden drill. Food, mainly fish and meat, was cooked even in the early 18th century in wooden troughs, into which red-hot stones were thrown.

The only domesticated animal of the Itel'mens was the dog. Later, harness dog-breeding of the so-called Eastern Siberian type developed in Kamchatka. However, until the middle of the 19th century, the Itel'mens used their ancient sled with two pairs of arched staves and a saddle-like seat. At the time of Krasheninnikov's visit, the Itel'mens had gliding skis, but used mostly woven snowshoes. River navigation was by bat—narrow boats, hollowed out of whole poplar trunks. For stability and greater carrying capacity, two of these boats were sometimes tied together and covered to make a platform. Krasheninnikov reports that it took the Itel'mens three years to make a bat with a stone adze.

The Russians called the Itel'men villages in the 18th century ostrozhkas, or "little forts." They were situated along river banks and consisted of winter and summer dwellings. The winter dwelling was a semiunderground yurt, as it was then called by the Russians, with an entrance through the smoke-opening in the roof. The dwelling also had a side exit, but this was used only by women and children. The summer dwelling of the individual family was the so-called balagan—a pyramidal, grass-covered tent set on high platforms resting on piles. The ancient dress of the Itel'mens resembled Koryak and Chukchi dress.

Such, in its general features, was the material culture of the Itel'mens in the beginning of the 18th century. Analogous to the low level of material production were the primitive forms of social relations.

7:Lesseps T-3 (1787-88)1790 Kamchadal ,

177 or of ſkin without hair; they are made like
291 the parque, and anſwer the ſame purpoſe,
563 that is, to be worn over their other garments. Their gala dreſs, is a parque trimmed with otter ſkins and velvet, or other ſtuffs and furs equally dear. The women are clothed like the Ruſſian women, whoſe mode of dreſs is too well known to need a deſcription; I ſhall therefore only obſerve, that the exceſſive ſcarcity of every ſpecies of ſtuff at Kamtſchatka, renders the toilet of the women an object of very conſiderable expence: they ſometimes adopt the dreſs of the men.

262 The principal food of theſe people con-
462 ſiſts, as I have already obſerved, in dried
222 fiſh. The fiſh are procured by the men, while the women are employed in domeſtic occupations, or in gathering fruits and other vegetables, which, next to the dried fiſh, are the favourite proviſions of the Kamtſchadales

7:Lesseps T-3 (1787-88)1790 Kamchadal

262 ſchadales and Ruſſians of this country.
222 When the women go out to make theſe har-
462 veſts for winter conſumption, it is high holy-
527 day with them, and the anniverſary is cele-
brated by a riotous and intemperate joy, that frequently gives riſe to the moſt extravagant and indecent ſcenes. They diſperſe in crouds through the country, ſinging and giving themſelves up to all the abſurdities which their imagination ſuggeſts; no conſideration of fear or modeſty reſtrains them. I cannot better deſcribe their licentious frenzy than by comparing it with the bacchanals of the Pagans. Ill betide the man whom chance conducts and delivers into their hands! however reſolute or however active he may be, it is impoſſible to evade the fate that awaits him; and it is ſeldom that he eſcapes, without receiving a ſevere flagellation.

Their proviſions are prepared nearly in the

27: Sauer--312-313 T-2 (1789-93) 1802 Kamchadal
116, 221, 222, 251

"The Kamtshadals and residentiary Russians employ themselves during the summer in catching fish; drying some, and salting others for a winter supply for themselves and their dogs: in the autumn, in making hay for their cattle, collecting berries, the [313] sweet plant, and kiprey: the former is purchased by government for the distillery of brandy, at three and four roubles the pood when prepared and dried. In the spring they collect birds' eggs about the marshes, and particularly among the rocks at the mouth of the bay of Avatsha: these they preserve all the year with oil."

28: Sarytschew--66-67 T-1 (1789-90) 1806 Kamchadal
116, 222, 262, 609, 825

"On our journey we experienced the most friendly treatment from the Kamtschadales, who not only entertained us with the utmost cordiality, but made us liberal presents of partridges, fresh fish, frozen keta, jukol, berries, and roots, [67] which are collected in great quantities from the mouse-holes, and form one of their principal aliments.

In autumn, they go into the fields in search of these roots, and as soon as they find hollow ground, by stamping, they dig down, and lay open the store-rooms of these animals. They do not, however, empty them entirely, but leave the mice a third at least of their provision, probably with a view of not driving away such useful creatures. They terrify each other, indeed, with the saying, that the mouse which is deprived of all its sustenance, will hang itself in despair on the next tree; a tale which may perhaps have originated in the circumstance of a mouse having been entangled by accident in the branches of a tree, and having hung there till it died."

29:Cochrane T-2 (1821-22) 1824 Kamchadal

132 end of May the snow had entirely disappeared, and Spring, in the course of a few days, made her welcome appearance; wild flowers and vegetables were every where springing up, and enlivening the dreariness of the last seven months. Even the rigging of the transport which was to carry me back, excited my interest, and reminded me of former times. The attention of the inhabitants was sufficiently engaged by the accession of fish, as herrings in the inner harbour, cod in the outer
222 haven, and seals every where. Some among them proceeded to the islands at the mouth of the haven, and brought in some thousands of eggs, while others were out in shooting parties, sending us in snipes,
132 wild ducks, and partridges. The wild garlic made its first appearance at Cape Garlick so early as the 15th of May.

000 Only a few individuals died in the hospital, most of them with the scurvy; the remainder were soon restored to sound health by Spring and fresh fish. Our evening walks were sometimes extended to the summits of the hills, where we took our tea or smoked a segar; but latterly the little place,—I cannot call it a town,—became overflowed from the melting of the snow, and it was with difficulty we could move about. In the month of June a vessel arrived from Canton and Manilla, in ballast, having failed in procuring a cargo of flour. By that vessel I received a most friendly letter from Mr. Urmston, the chief of the British factory, together